

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

INDO-RUSSIAN MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS

Jerome M. Conley-Captain, United States Marine Corps

B.A., College of the Holy Cross, 1990

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis analyzes the history of Indo-Russian military and nuclear cooperation. The “special” Moscow-New Delhi relationship during the Cold War, the thesis concludes, was based upon Indian needs, American ambivalence and Soviet opportunism. In the post-Cold War era this relationship has persisted due to continued American ambivalence, short-term Indian military needs, and Russian economic needs. This bond, therefore, may be fractured by an eventual improvement in Indian military self-reliance or a deepening in Indo-American military cooperation. India’s strategic culture, rooted in Indian history, geography and political culture, has created an Indian strategic mindset impervious to American nonproliferation efforts. This thesis finds, moreover, that there are no short-term “silver bullets” to cure the current Indo-American rift, which flows from causes in addition to India’s nuclear weapons tests in 1998. While short-term measures can be taken to improve the bilateral relationship, the historical rift that has emerged between the two states cannot be easily mended. The United States, therefore, must strive to ensure that Indian nuclear expansion is conducted in a controlled, safe and limited manner.

DoD KEY TECHNICAL AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Indo-Russian, Russian Arms, India, South Asia, Proliferation

THE EVOLUTION OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN VENEZUELA: TESTING RATIONAL CHOICE, CULTURAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL THEORIES

José Luis Cortés Flores-Commander, Venezuelan Navy

B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1983

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: Thomas C. Bruneau, Department of National Security Affairs

Harold A. Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs

The thesis analyzes the extent to which civil-military relations in Venezuela have deteriorated in the past decade. The thesis’s central theme is that the civilian control over the military in Venezuela is far from ideal. The relations between the armed forces and the decision-makers are based only on the interactions of the President with the military. There are no other civilian institutions involved in the control of the military. However, the armed forces of Venezuela have shown very strong democratic principles and any increase in the presence of the armed forces in the political and economic arena is the result of civilians’ request. The armed forces of Venezuela have not sought to tilt the balance of power in their favor. In addition, the thesis addresses how well each of the three major approaches of comparative politics to explain the Venezuela situation.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Western Hemisphere Politics)

KEYWORDS: Civil-Military Relations, Political Parties, Venezuelan Civil-Military Relations, Coup d'état Attempts, Civilian Control Over the Military, Military Professionalization. Rational Choice, Culture, Institutionalism

ENTANGLED IN SOUTHERN LEBANON: ISRAEL, IRAN, SYRIA AND HIZBOLLAH

Ian M. Facey-Captain, United States Marine Corps

B.A., University of Maryland, 1990

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: Ralph H. Magnus, Department of National Security Affairs

Terry D. Johnson, Department of National Security Affairs

Israel invaded Lebanon in 1978 and 1982 with the intention of destroying the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) infrastructure. Hizbollah has attempted to fill the vacuum that was created by the removal of the PLO from Lebanon. In an effort to neutralize Hizbollah and obtain a secure northern border, the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) has undertaken many military operations that in the end have appeared to be counter-productive. These operations have only served as a catalyst for reciprocal battles between the IDF and Hizbollah. The purpose of this thesis is to examine and analyze why Israel's military efforts in southern Lebanon have failed to achieve a secure and peaceful northern border and argue it is time to end the Israeli-Lebanon conflict via diplomatic efforts.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Middle East Regional Studies, Peace Process, Terrorism)

KEYWORDS: Lebanon, Israel, Iran, Syria, Hizbollah, Middle East Peace Process

PROSPECTS FOR POLITICAL TRANSITION IN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

Matthew M. Gentry-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.A. Seattle University, 1986

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: Ralph H. Magnus, Department of National Security Affairs

Terry D. Johnson, Department of National Security Affairs

More than fifty percent of Iran's sixty million citizens were born after the Islamic revolution. As these baby boomers take their place in Iranian society, they are straining the country's social, economic, and political infrastructure. This has given rise to a pro-reform political movement that rejects the authoritarian policies of the ruling clerics. The movement began in 1997 with the landslide election of pro-reform candidate Muhammad Khatami. Since then, President Khatami has implemented democratic reforms that have infuriated the conservatives but delighted the masses. Recently, pro-reform forces have united and as such they are able to challenge the existing political power structure.

This thesis argues that the Islamic Republic of Iran is currently in the midst of a political transition that will force the ruling clerics from power. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the prospects for that political transition by evaluating three key arenas in Iran: political society, economic society, and civil society.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security and Foreign Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Iran, Islamic Republic of Iran, Velayat-e Faqih, Democratic Transition, Political Society, Economic Society, Civil Society, U.S. Foreign Policy

THE CHIMERA OF THE ASEAN REGIONAL SECURITY COMMUNITY

Leong H. Goh-Colonel, Republic of Singapore Navy

B.A. (Hons), University of Cambridge, 1985

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisor: Mary P. Callahan, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Denny C. Roy, Department of National Security Affairs

In recent years, it has become fashionable for scholars to characterize the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as the first pluralistic security community to emerge outside the Western Hemisphere. In the light of this characterization, this thesis seeks to establish whether the institutionalization of ASEAN has facilitated and encouraged sufficient qualitative and quantitative transactions among its member states to qualify it as having attained the status of a tightly coupled regional security community.

While much evidence may be offered of the successes of the organization, a more critical investigation into intra-ASEAN trends and transactions in the political, military, and economic dimensions raises doubts as to the extent and nature of perceived inter-relationships. Although, over the thirty years of the organization's history, the regional institutional context and inter-state transactions have become denser and hence more consequential on individual state behaviors, this thesis concludes that ASEAN is, at best, a fragile loosely coupled regional security community. Much remains to be accomplished before ASEAN can claim the distinction of being a tightly coupled, pluralistic security community worthy of serving as a model for other aspiring communities.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Regional Studies)

KEYWORDS: Southeast Asia, ASEAN, Security Community

U.S. POLICY TOWARDS SUDAN: BLINDED BY ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM?

Robert A. Harris-Major, United States Air Force

B.S., University of Utah, 1986

M.A., Embry-Riddle University, 1997

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: Letitia L. Lawson, Department of National Security Affairs

Rodney Kennedy-Minott, Department of National Security Affairs

Sudan is currently ruled by a government that was put in place by a 1989 military coup that overthrew a democratically elected government. The US considers Sudan an Islamic Fundamentalist regime because National Islamic Front (NIF) members hold key positions in the government. In 1993 the US imposed unilateral diplomatic and economic sanctions against Sudan for allegedly harboring terrorist organizations.

This thesis assesses US policy towards Sudan with respect to terrorism. It reviews current policies and argues that key strategic interests are being neglected. The US tends to equate Islamic Fundamentalism with its more radical element, terrorism, which significantly influences US policy towards Sudan.

Currently the terrorism policy of the US is based on countering state-sponsored terrorism while the more significant threat is from a new breed of well-funded terrorists who operate independently of states. Instead of isolating Sudan for harboring such individuals, the US should take advantage of Sudan's influence with loosely knit Islamic groups. America's inability to effectively deal with the evolving terrorism threat, as reflected in its policy toward Sudan, represents a serious vacuum in its ability to provide for its national security.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Sudan, Islamic Fundamentalism, United States Terrorism Policy, Sanctions, National Islamic Front

HUMAN RIGHTS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN NORTH KOREA

Shaun D. Hollenbaugh-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.A., Otterbein College, 1990

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: Edward A. Olsen, Department of National Security Affairs

Denny C. Roy, Department of National Security Affairs

In an effort to maintain peace and stability in the East Asia region, and more specifically on the Korean peninsula, the U.S. faces an enormous challenge. The collapse of the Soviet Union, repeated natural disasters, and gross regime mismanagement of economic and social resources have left thousands of North Koreans starving, while at the same time the DPRK spends exorbitant amounts of money on its military. To maintain both its legitimacy and security, the Pyongyang regime purposely and willfully commits many human right violations against its own citizens.

Current U.S. foreign policy toward North Korea is centered on the nuclear “Agreed Framework” and the perceived military threat that the DPRK poses to South Korea and the region. To date, human rights issues have not been a viable part of U.S. foreign policy toward North Korea. In response, this thesis proposes foreign and security policies that clearly address the connections between human rights issues and the North Korean military threat.

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Human Rights, Foreign Policy)

KEYWORDS: Human Rights, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK), Republic of Korea (ROK), Foreign Policy

LIFE AFTER UNSCOM: THE REGIONAL RESPONSE TO AN UNSUPERVISED IRAQI WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (WMD) PROGRAM

Christian A. Isham-Major, United States Marine Corps

B.A., University of California, 1988

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security

Ahmed Ghoreishi, Department of National Security

On 16 December 1998, United Nations arms inspectors were evacuated from Iraq. DESERT FOX commenced as the United States and Britain began an aerial attack as punishment for Iraq’s repeated violations of UN resolution 687. While Iraq was punished, the resulting situation left an unsupervised Iraq to reconstitute its WMD program. This thesis examines the regional response of Iraq’s neighbors to such a threat. Specifically, the reactions of Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Israel during the nine months following DESERT FOX are examined under a “balance of threat” model as posited by Stephen Walt. External responses such as realignments and internal responses such as WMD proliferation are sought to determine if “balance of threat” is a valid model to predict a state’s behavior. This thesis determines if there has been a significant response from the region and if it requires a U.S. policy change. Finally, policy implications for the United States are discussed and new recommendations are proffered. Data used to write this thesis was strictly open source. Classified data could certainly alter the conclusions of this study.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Political Science)

KEYWORDS: Middle East, Persian Gulf, UNSCOM, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), Alliances

**DE-ALERTING THE U.S. AND RUSSIAN NUCLEAR ARSENALS:
AN UNLIKELY METHOD OF ARMS CONTROL**

**James R. Low-Commander, United States Navy
B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1982**

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs

David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Non-governmental organizations and observers have suggested that deteriorating conditions in Russia's nuclear weapons system could lead Russian decision-makers to order a nuclear missile launch on warning, thereby precipitating nuclear war between the United States and Russia. False or ambiguous early warning system alerts, combined with Russian fears of attack and readily available missiles, are held to create a dangerous mix of operating conditions. The proposed de-alerting measures would either disable the nuclear launch platforms or the missiles, thus extending the time required for launching an ICBM or SLBM. The thesis suggests that the proposed de-alerting methods are physically feasible but could have detrimental effects upon crisis stability and national security. Verifying de-alerting measures also presents additional problems. The assumptions employed by de-alerting proponents are inaccurate, and their scenarios are implausible. Other arms control methods are being pursued (such as U.S.-Russian cooperation in jointly operated early warning centers) that should be more effective at reducing the chances of an accidental nuclear exchange while preserving Russian and American national security.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Nuclear Weapons Policy)

KEYWORDS: Nuclear Weapons Policy, De-alerting Arms Control

TUNISIA: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ARMED FORCES STRUCTURE TO 2010 (U)

Leon A. McIlvene-Major, United States Marine Corps

B.S., Applachian State University, 1984

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

and

Sean M. Salene-Captain, United States Marine Corps

B.A., Boston College, 1991

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: Glenn E. Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs

Thomas C. Bruneau, Department of National Security Affairs

The information contained in the special abstract is classified SECRET.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs, International Security and Civil-Military Relations)

KEYWORDS: Tunisia, Tunisia-Military, Tunisia-Armed Forces, Tunisia Security

STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS OF EXPANDED TURKISH-ISRAELI MILITARY RELATIONS

Spyridon Mimikos-Lieutenant, Hellenic Navy

B.S., Hellenic Naval Academy, 1987

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: Ralph H. Magnus, Department of National Security Affairs

Tjarck G. Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs

The Oslo prospects for a new dawn of economic, social and cultural friendship in the Middle East never came true. Instead, in the post-Cold War era the Middle East region became more complicated and it is rapidly sorting itself into new regional power blocs. Turkey and Israel, two countries that in many ways are natural partners, constitute the core of the first and most powerful one.

The thesis will argue that the expanded Turkish-Israeli military relations has affected decisively the balance of interests within the region, as well as the context of strategic relations in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean. The incentives and motivations that have driven both countries to realize security co-operation with each other can be detected and justified by the historical and geographic context in which both countries find themselves, as well as their relations with their regional neighbors. However these factors have also created stumbling blocks to their cooperation. Furthermore, it would be not an exaggeration to counter such cooperation as the outrider of NATO's enlargement in the area, or a strong incentive for Turkey's acceptance from the European Union. Nevertheless, the alliance's prospects for the future are definitely good.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Middle East Area Studies)

KEYWORDS: Strategic Implications and Objectives, Turkish-Israeli Military Relations, Security in the Middle East and East Mediterranean

EXPLORING THE "WEIMAR RUSSIA" ANALOGY

Gary P. Russell-Major, United States Marine Corps

B.S., Purdue University, 1987

Master of Science in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs

The "Weimar Russia" analogy is based on the comparison between the failures of the Weimar Republic in Germany (1918-33) and the current problems of post-Soviet Russia. The premise of the analogy is that initial advances toward democracy and economic stabilization might fail and that an authoritarian leader might assume power, rearm, and destabilize the Eurasian continent.

The comparison has been the subject of academic conferences, books, journal articles, news stories, and miscellaneous comments. This thesis examines the following elements of the comparison: Defeat in War; Revolution as the Internal Cause; Loss of Territory and Resources; Economic Turmoil; Political Systems, Governments, and Leaders; Decline of the Military; The Diaspora and the Desire for an Ethnically-based Nation-State; Revanchism and Irredentism; and Fascism and Anti-Semitism.

While some analysts question the validity of the comparison, the "Weimar Russia" analogy commands attention from experts in Russian affairs and government officials concerned with the future of Russia.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Weimar Russia, Russia, Post-Soviet Russia, Fascism, Nationalism, Historical Comparison

**LEGITIMIZING INTRA-STATE MILITARY INTERVENTION ON BEHALF
OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

Rouven J. Steeves-First Lieutenant, United States Air Force

B.S., United States Air Force Academy, 1996

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisor: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Edwin R. Micewski, Department of National Security Affairs

Human rights have in recent years become a key justification for outside powers to intervene in conflicts within states. NATO's intervention in Kosovo in March to June 1999 is but one important example of this rationale. Despite the allied "victory," NATO's decision making was muddled and burdened by convoluted rhetoric and hesitancy and cannot serve as a model for any similar future engagements. It is out of the need to find a constructive way forward that the thesis argues for a rational course of action based on ideals but tempered with realism. International norms regarding state sovereignty, human rights, and intervention as propounded in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are

discussed and critiqued. Kosovo is critically analyzed as a case study highlighting practical constraints and illuminating the need for reasserting clear definitions and guidelines that are philosophically well-grounded and legally viable. Philosophical obstacles to achieving clarity and formulating universal norms are briefly assessed. The thesis proposes a philosophical framework and norms that may well serve as the foundation for revised international guidelines. The conclusion argues for tempered international enforcement of clear and coherent guidelines that uphold specified, universally acknowledged human rights.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Military Intervention)

KEYWORDS: Military Intervention, Human Rights, State Sovereignty

U.S. STRATEGIC NUCLEAR POLICY AND FORCE STRUCTURE: THREE ANALYTICAL APPROACHES

**Russell H. Wagner-Lieutenant, United States Navy
B.A., Auburn University, 1991**

M.Ed., Old Dominion University, 1998

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: Davis S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States and Russia have made significant strides in reducing their nuclear arsenals. While the current political climate is significantly less tense than during the Cold War era, Russia is still the only country capable of destroying the United States.

This thesis examines the current requirements shaping U.S. nuclear strategy, policy, and force structure in the three leading U.S. schools of thought (de-alerting, bilateral negotiations, and national missile defense). Additionally, the thesis evaluates the implications for the U.S. nuclear posture in the policy recommendations advanced by these schools. Each school proposes distinct solutions regarding strategic force structure based on its interpretation of the requirements at hand.

The thesis concludes that de-alerting, theater and national ballistic missile defense, and bilateral negotiations schools of thought will continue to influence, both short-term and long-term, U.S. nuclear policy and force structure.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Command, Control, and Communications, Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Russian Nuclear Command and Control, De-alerting, National/Theater Ballistic Missile Defense (NMD) (TMD), START Treaty, Strategic Nuclear Policy and Force Structure

TRIANGULAR DETERRENCE: A FORMIDABLE ROGUE STATE STRATEGY

Kevin R. Wesley-Lieutenant Commander, United States Navy

B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1989

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Thesis Advisor: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Edward A. Olsen, Department of National Security Affairs

In an effort to counter the overwhelming U.S. predominance in conventional forces, rogue states such as Iraq and North Korea have adopted a strategy based upon the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD); that is, nuclear, chemical, or biological arms. Moreover, rogue states have refocused their efforts to deter U.S. action from direct confrontation with the United States to threatening U.S. allies or neutral parties in potential contingencies. This strategy might enable a rogue state to avoid direct engagement with the United States as well as to make the most effective use of a small WMD program. Robert Harkavy has labeled this concept “triangular or indirect deterrence.” This thesis analyzes triangular deterrence as a credible strategy that might be implemented by rogue states throughout the world. The thesis examines historical case studies as well as plausible hypothetical future scenarios, and bases its analysis on a broad

body of deterrence theory. It concludes that “triangular deterrence” presents new challenges for U.S. defense policy and that partial solutions may reside in missile defenses and adjustments in declaratory policy.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Deterrence, Asymmetric Strategies)

KEYWORDS: Triangular Deterrence, Indirect Deterrence, Asymmetric Strategies, Weapons of Mass Destruction, WMD, Nuclear Proliferation, Nuclear Strategy, Rogue State Strategy, North Korea, DPRK, Ballistic Missiles

**AMAZON SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM (SIVAM): U.S. AND BRAZILIAN
COOPERATION**

E. Peter Wittkoff-Captain, United States Marine Corps

B.S., Pepperdine University, 1991

M.P.A., Troy State University, 1998

Masters of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1999

Advisors: Thomas C. Bruneau, Department of National Security Affairs

Scott D. Tollefson, Department of National Security Affairs

The thesis will demonstrate how Brazil’s System for Surveillance of the Amazon (SIVAM) increases bilateral linkages in Brazilian-U.S. relations within the framework of the international relations theory of complex interdependence. The thesis’s central theme is that SIVAM might benefit U.S. national security interests in Latin America, especially in counter-drug operations. For example, an opportunity for greater cooperation between the two nations exists with Relocatable Over the Horizon Radar (ROTHR) data sharing. ROTHR could improve SIVAM’s low altitude aircraft coverage and reinforce Brazil’s sovereign borders. The most important arena for cooperation is in counter-drug operations.

SIVAM was conceived in the early 1990s to support control and preservation of the Amazon in a strategy known as System for Protection of the Amazon or SIPAM. In 1994, U.S. based Raytheon Corporation won the SIVAM contract over French Thomson CSF in bidding, but contract execution did not begin until 1997. The new Ministry of Defense will probably control SIVAM. SIVAM will have significant surveillance capabilities to support Brazilian military operations other than war (OOTW).

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Electronic Warfare, Sensors, Other (C4ISR, Radar)

KEYWORDS: Systems, Surveillance, Brazil, Technology, Amazon, Sovereignty, U.S. Foreign Relations, OOTW, Counter-Drug, South America, Environment, Raytheon, Counter-drug, Narco-guerrilla, Civil-Military Relations, International Relations, Brazilian Civil-Military Relations, U.S. Government Advocacy, Surveillance Technology, Over the Horizon Radar